113
171
192
197
825

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Bacairi SP7
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see S: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 237 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171]

1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/171 cont./

534 171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug; φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakaïrí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a socty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buritĭ straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijũ; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

/183 cont./

124 601 Brother is symbolized by pointing to the navel of the one who is the brother and to one's own navel, the word became certain because the Kustenaŭ immediately applied it to me: "I call you brother," he cried most enthusiastically and slapped me on the shoulder -- "mepiama teté, two brothers," he added. That one designates someone as son becomes absolutely clear, on the part of the father as well as of the mother, by a gesture which represents the height of naïveté, but whether the word spoken does not at the same time correspond to the given name of the son, etc. can be deduced only from a number of examples.

124 [101] In answer to the question as to where we would be tomorrow, the Kustenaŭ always repeated, "Waurá." Whether that is a tribe or, as Antonio says, a tributary, we are unable to decide (1).

1. From the statements of the Suyá geographer it becomes clear that the Waurá are indeed a tribe on the Batovy, whom we did not find.

805 The number of days is nicely and simply elucidated. They point to the sun, describe an arc in the air which sumbolizes its daily course, nod their heads, and close their eyes -- one day; again they describe an arc, etc., depicting each day separately in this manner. The questioner does the adding.

802 [171] /184/ The manner in which our Indians -- the Bakaïrí do exactly the same -- answer the question about a number, for example, of persons, is also very drastic. First they grasp and bend aside one finger after another of the left and then of the right hand; then comes the left foot and, if this is not enough, the right foot, toe by toe in sequence. If the number exceeds even 20, the Indian in the end grasps his hair with both hands, lifts a full bunch, and pulls it apart in all directions.

/For additional comparative data on the ethnography of other tribes along the Kulisehu River - especially the Aueto (SP6), the Kamayura (SP6), the Nahuqua (SP25), the Mehinaku (SP18), and Waura (SP18) - see category 116, pp. 157-410 passim. Data on the physical anthropology of these tribes may be found in categories 141 and 142./

/71 cont./

536 412 171 I may mention at once that the mimicry of the Bakaïrí mutatis mutandis with more or less temperament was repeated among all tribes, that only the interjections differed, but the gestures were exactly the same. Here in the tobacco club I also first became acquainted with the stone-ax pantomime which, though in itself very touching, we later had to endure in the case of each tribe to the point of boredom. It described the contrast between the stone ax and the iron ax, which was immediately demonstrated to them by Antonio, and to my feeling, before I became dulled by the repetition, indeed at the beginning, just because it was so inexorably repeated, it had something unusually gripping about it, like a sort of stammering protest of metal-less humanity against the crushing hammer blows of civilization, a protest which, as I still experienced it here, must have resounded unheard a thousand times in all the corners of the earth.

536 412 How the Bakaïrí tortures himself to fell a tree: early in the morning, when the sun, tschischi, rises -- it rises there in the east -- he starts to swing the stone ax. And tschischi travels upward and the Bakaïrí goes on striking bravely, tsök, tsök, tsök. His arms grow ever wearier -- they are rubbed and drop down limply, he blows a weak puff of air out of his mouth and passes his hand over his exhausted face; he goes on striking, no longer with tsök, tsök, but with a groan drawn from the depths of his chest. The sun stands high in the zenith; his stomach -- his flat hand rubs over it or is laid deep in a fold -- is empty; how hungry the Bakaïrí is -- his face is drawn into the most pitiful expression. Finally, when tschischi is already very low, a tree falls: tokále = one, the little finger points out. But you, the Karaibe -- suddenly everything about the mimic is alive and strong -- the Karaibe takes his iron ax, swings it aloft, brings it down heavily, tsök, tsök, pum -- ah..., there lies the tree, a hard stamp with the foot, on the ground already. And here and there and here again, one sees them falling everywhere. Conclusion for the Karaiben: give us your iron axes.

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.

231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
●[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu Eteneri and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses).

Karaiben: Bakairí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

2. Steinen--1338,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 Bd Bakairi ...
Trumai 5 Pag.

/139 cont./

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakairí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetó and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here, some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

*As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakairí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetó, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

2 Steinen- 417 E D-5 (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 SPT Bororo 197 Bororo 275

/352 cont./

interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guaná; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí conclude that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the araras feared and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/368 cont./

821 a sorcerer on the Paranatinga changed himself into an anú, a
773 bluish-black bird (Crotophaga) and covered the sun for a while with his wings. On January 28, 1888, there was an eclipse of the moon which I called to Antonio's attention. Deprived of surprise because of my announcement beforehand, he nevertheless made his usual explanation that the lizard and the tatú were at work. I let him look at the moon through an opera glass and wanted him to tell me about the mountains. "A little dirt from the tatú has remained behind," he replied. Thus, with the grubbing and digging there was added a new circumstance which induced the ancient Bakaïrí to see in the curved form of the unilluminated part the armadillo in particular.

• 171 821 In these explanations, however, there is a definite contradiction of the views of the Karaïben /Carib/ base-people /Grundvolk/, which are handed down to us in the words for sun,*

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, the table for "Fire, Sun, Wood, Tree," p. 278 and pp. 279 to 281, as well as Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 306 /omitted in the translation (1: Steinen, this file)/.

and in the same manner the explanations of the present-day Pareuí, who also have the feathers and the armadillos, contradict the presumed views among the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ base-people. The words for "fire" and "sun" have the same roots and are in part differentiated only by reduplication, or are even identical from one tribe to another. Thus, in the formation of the words, warmth and light must have been the first characteristics of the sun comprehended. The pot, too, with which the
821 Bakaïrí have the sun /369/ covered at night, is also a reference to the hearth, and it proves to us, since the Bakaïrí had no pots in former times, the comparatively late embellishment of the hypothesis. I modestly objected to Antonio: "But the sun is hot, after all, and there are no feathers, are there?" An objection which I bitterly regretted as soon as it had escaped my lips.

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[174] as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon
[193] Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tschischi-Keri, the Aruak and their neighbors made Nuña-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Arinos people living to the northwest with the Paressí, and Keri, the tribes living with the Bakaïrí to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions; this distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Keri's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun; for children could not have simply called east and sun what their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

[173] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way: in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

193 Let us consider a few important details of the legend: Keri and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband; she swallowed two finger bones from Bakaïrí, which the jaguar stored away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpre-
[191] tations. Among the Paressí there are ten brothers, among other tribes four; the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

/371 cont./

773 again as evening twilight. But I must admit, this feature of the death of the mother, often observed in the American creation legends, is appropriate here too. And there, to be sure, my beautiful explanation about diligence comes to nought, for with the break of day this should be awakened to full life. Thus, I believe it is better not to put too high a value on the generalization of any fate of the mother -- dying happens very readily in the myths -- but rather to examine in each individual case to what extent death is useful for the aims of the storytellers. In our case both death itself, as the motif for the continuation of the story, and the manner in which it is combined with birth are very useful. The mother is killed by the mother-in-law because she is regarded as a Bakaïrí, and the mother-in-law and her tribe were hostile to the Bakaïrí and devoured as many of them as possible. Keri and Kame take revenge on her. She, too, is killed, and when she is burned the Magellanic Clouds arise; this fire again plays an important role for the development of the heroes. Then, however, Keri and Kame were cut out of the dead mother, and that is, after all, a circumstance which has a more startling relation to the miraculous birth, albeit fearful to the mother, of two great medicine men who soon accomplish so much than it has to the death of the personified morning-twilight! The morning twilight, moreover, like the sun, is regarded as feathers which the vulture brings in order not to have to give up the sun itself.

If only we would take the legends as what they are to the Indian himself rather than as what they could be to us and, I must admit, what they could become for him, with the advancement of a higher culture embellishing the childlike origin with a thousand arabesques. The Indian imagines the sun as a feather ball -- and not only /372/ the Bakaïrí and Paressí do that, but also the Bororó -- and he is supposed to imagine abstract "light" as a person!

[371]

In the American legends the "god of light" brings "civilization" and there is seen in this a memory of a migration from the east or an origin of civilization from the east. It is indeed strange

/405 cont./

a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakairí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /contained in the translation, see the foreign text, pp. 326-347/.

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakairí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakairí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain. among the Trumaí the word for 2, hum, is contained in the one for 3, hummamã. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetí have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakairí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand maye," yanayá mumby (Guarani mumbý), to mayé, the power tribes say "1 hand," the Kuhuguá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + wawá, the meaning (Guarani guereíby) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the power tribes and probably also the Auetí 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

/406 cont./

With 11, among all of them, the foot enters, specified by an addition, and 12, 13, 14 are = 2, 3, 4 + foot and the addition. The Nahuquá, however, instead of their word for foot, use the word vîzo, which, however, from a comparison with other Karaiben /Carib/ languages, is recognizable as a stem with the same meaning,* and now count from 11-15: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5 foot"

* vîzo = ipu-lu (-lu pronominal suffix):
Mahuaf, Island Karaiben, ipu, foot.

on the right toes and from 16-20 on the left "1, 2, 3, 4, 10 foot."

From 15-19 matters are very confused: with 15 a new addition usually appears and the formations run parallel to those of the second hand from 6-9 or those of the first foot from 11-14. Among the Yaulapiti, whose numbers are formed very regularly, 1 foot means 15, whereas among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ 11, in the former instance because the foot is finished, in the latter because it is just beginning. Thus, among the Mehinakú, the following oddity occurs: 5 = 1 hand, 11 = 1 foot, 12 = 2 foot, 13 = 3 foot, 14 = 4 foot and (since 5 = 1 hand) 15 = 1 hand, foot!

All have the feet in the 20 except the Aueté. Among the Yaulapiti the same addition which was with the hand = 10, is with the foot = 20. Among the Kamaiurá /Camayurá/ 15 is precariously similar to 20.

Let us now turn to the more backward Bakairí, with whom I practiced all kinds of arithmetical exercises.

The names of their counting apparatus, the fingers, have nothing to do with number. The thumb means "father", the little finger, "child" or "little one", the middle finger, as among us, "the middle one"; index finger and ring finger are called the "neighbor" -- at least that is the probable meaning -- in the case of the former, of the "father," and, in the case of the latter, the "neighbor" of the "little one."

They count in words up to 6:

1 = tokíle	4 = ahíge ahíge
2 = ahíge	5 = ahíge ahíge tokíle
3 = ahíge tokíle or ahewío	6 = ahíge ahíge ahíge

As may be seen, they have individual words only for the numbers from 1 to 3, and the numbers from 4 to 6 are made up out of ahíge and tokíle. It was only on the second expedition

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802 means lack of practice. They have no livestock whose numbers they would be obliged to watch, they have no trade in goods that would have to be counted or referred to a unit of value; they need only inform one another now and then about the number of persons, about the number of animals, which they have encountered, which they have killed, which they divided up among themselves, about the trees that they cut, and whatever similar work there is in the household and daily life, for which their number words are adequate or for which an indefinite multiplicity may be conveyed with other means of expression in word and gesture. They have the principle of counting, the abstraction of number; the Karaiben base-people already had this in ancient times, and from there upward the further development depends only on interest. Their limited need for concerning themselves [193] with the number of things is, in my opinion, characterized by the lack of a plural even more than by the lack of number words. Tree, trees, and wood are all "se," house, houses, and village always merely "éti."

600 We whose lives are full of numbers because they represent the framework of all our knowledge possess a great many acquired items of knowledge in which all /410/ ordinary, "regularly" recurring numerical relationships are included, and in very many individual cases we do not need independent observation. It is not likely that we ever counted our toes, but it is true, there are ten of them. We can wear a vest for a year, put it on and take it off daily, and yet have no idea how many buttons are on it. Now primitive man clings to each single phenomenon and knows nothing about laws. If one asks him how many fingers he has he is glad to do us the favor of counting them. He takes the question exactly as the European does the one about the vest buttons.

● 191 802 How the Bakaïrí art of counting, which is extraordinarily similar to that of Australian tribes, could have developed further step by step can be seen in a frequently cited example among their near, though spatially very remote kinsmen, the Tamanako of the Orinoco. The latter have completed the

/410 cont./

171 802 familiar step forward and chose a number word for "5" from the hand: "whole hand"; "10" are "both hands," "15" a "whole foot," and "20" "a man." The "2," the same word as among the Bakaïrí, is still contained in the "4" of the Tamanako, but they have given it an ending determining the meaning and no longer say "two-two." We again recognize exactly the same finger-gesture system of the Bakaïrí, which, however, has already provided itself with proper number-words.

800 While Paleko plaited baskets or when I often swung sleepless in my hammock during the night, I would rack my brains about their method of counting. Was one to be unable to find even here, where conditions are as simple as possible, any trace of the remarkable secret of how the abstraction of number originated in the human mind?

It has been observed everywhere among primitive peoples that they count primarily with their fingers and get along better this way than with number words. From this general experience it was concluded that number gestures are older than number words and that the latter only came out of the former. Now, in speaking of finger gestures, one must not think that it is merely a matter of gestures with which the number is to be conveyed to the questioner as though they had the immediate purpose of giving him a more vivid elucidation, in the way an Italian, for example, as soon as he says "3," stretches out 3 fingers. The native calculates with his fingers, in the way one grasps the beads on the wires of an abacus. It is true, in counting one or two objects he often touches the fingers of the left hand so fleetingly that the movement takes on the character of a purely communicative gesture. If, however, one has watched the careful and punctilious [802] work which the counting of 3 maize kernels represents, how the Bakaïrí touches first the kernels and then the left fingers, one will not doubt that the left hand is his abacus. And in the same way beyond "6" he touches his fingers and toes one by one like the beads of an abacus, and he is far from pointing to them merely in an expressive way or even, if that were mechanically possible, from stretching them out in pantomimic demonstration.

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171 802 If there is no natural limit for the "2" in the fingers, and one tribe calculates by beginning from the little finger, another by beginning from the thumb, that of the Coroados even at the finger joints, according to Martius, then the counting of the "2" is not learned by means of a pattern in the arrangement of the hand itself, as would be conceivable with "5." It should be remembered, however, that the Bakaïrí only calculates on the left hand what he has touched with the right. With his glance alone he cannot transfer the number of kernels to his left fingers, but must first arrange them. His counting is divided into two processes: : that of the arrangement of the objects into 2 parts and that of the illustration on the fingers of pairs and individual pieces. But he already divides or counts up to 2 on his right hand and simply derives the abstraction, if I may express it thus, on his left hand. The important preliminary step, which, I believe, has been overlooked up to now, comes from the touch perception. Then, of necessity, the things he touched and somehow manipulated with his hands are responsible for the first unit of "2": these things must have in them a law that furnished the concrete "2" when they were manipulated and that with certainty produced the abstraction of "2" after the customary illustration with the fingers, because the same observation was repeated in the case of all objects.

One can break a thing into many fragments, but everything that one methodically breaks or cuts is first broken or cut into 2 pieces. I can take in my hand 1, 2, 3, 4 sticks and nothing teaches me to put the individual ones together in number units, but if I take a stick and break it -- it will be conceded that, as long as man has existed and wherever on earth he has broken sticks, he has always broken every stick first into "2" pieces. If one again breaks the first piece into 2 and the second piece into 2, one obtains the numerical order of the two-system of the Bakaïrí or the Australians. In the demonstration of the procedure regularly following the same course by means of the finger gestures used by primitive peoples for all illustration, the ancient Bakaïrí always pointed first to the little finger and ring finger and then, if he

/416 cont./

000 Conversely, let us imagine someone who has had a great deal of practice in registering aural impressions; will he be able to understand how someone like us could say he heard the clock strike but could not tell how often? How charitably he would smile at our audible counting! And he, too, would have to use his fingers to help out if among his number words he had no higher units than 2 and 3.

[802] Just as we are not practiced in hearing, so the Bakaïrí is not in the habit of counting with his eyes. He is still almost entirely limited to the result of touch perception. The foundation upon which further development, stimulated by interest and need, and the formation of higher units must have been accomplished had already been present for many generations, yet how slight were interest and need in primitive family life! Even in sharing, which -- we cannot help but think -- first of all demands "keeping accounts," one scarcely ever needed to count: it was give and take and the piece in the hand proved more than the fingers on the hand.

802 196 Let us turn once again to the number words of the Bakaïrí and see how their etymology, insofar as it offers any certainty, corresponds to the development revealed in the experiments. The comparison is not without value because the two studies were made quite independently of each other, and the explanation of the number words rests only on phonetic proof and linguistic comparison.

• 171 802 196 I do not know how to begin with "ahewáo," "3." It occurs among a number of tribes of the north, partly in greatly altered forms which nevertheless can probably be reconciled. The singular luxury of two numerical expressions may be bound up with the great uncertainty which the Bakaïrí still manifest in 3-counting; the important thing is still to determine the pairs and there is a separate word only for what exceeds the designation of the first pair, the most common case. In the difficult counting of objects that exceed "3," I heard only "ahágе tokále," so that the two expressions are used somewhat like "twelve" and "dozen," and "ahewáo" perhaps still has something indeterminate adhering

/416 cont./

171 802 196 to it from its original meaning. For this reason it is not used for making up higher numbers. In the Kamayurá "3" is called moapüt, a word that can be definitely analyzed. It is made up of the causative mo-, mbo-, and apüt, apy, "peak," "point." The highest /417/ or peak finger is the middle finger, which marks the "3," in other words, already a natural limit, like 5 = hand. In the closely related Auetö, 1 and 3 are entirely different words than in the Kamayurá-Tupí, while 2 is the same. This is very similar to the relationship among the various Karaiben tribes.

Fortunately, the meaning of the most important number-word "ahágе" is certain. It also has the greatest comparative value linguistically, for it occurs, for the most part little differentiated, among all the genuine Karaiben peoples and is a veritable guide-word. Phonetically it goes back to "atáke." It must be broken up into, first, the demonstrative a-, which also forms the pronominal prefix of the second person and refers to the nearest thing outside one's own body, and, secondly, the post-position "-take," "-sake," "-hage," "with /mit/, along with /samt/" = "there-by /da-bei/," "there-with /da-mit/," "together /zusammen/." Thus, there is nothing in it about hand or fingers, and nothing about eyes, wings, and arms.

"Many" is "aági," and even "ági," and, since I also once wrote down "ahági" and in any case there must have been a consonant between the two occurrences of a, was very probably originally identical with "ahágе," "2" -- an identity which has long been lost in the linguistic feeling of the modern Bakaïrí. Consequently, the meanings "2" and "many" would have split off from the oldest meaning still demonstrable today, "therewith /dabei/," about like our "jointly /miteinander/" "together /zusammen/," and the word for the definite number and the one for the indefinite amount would be merely phonetic differentiations of the same stem form.*

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* For example, in German the same stem paar /pair/ = "2" and = "einige" /a few/ is not even phonetically differentiated, but only syntactically,

/418 cont./

802 196 reach back only to the proof of the origin from manual work, to make an uninterrupted chain of inductive evidence.

In Tupí "2" is mokói, made up with the causative mo-; koi is translated "pair." Thus "2" = "makes pair." But what is koi? Now strangely enough, kopi -- the exact equivalent of the Bakaïrí sake -- means "to chop wood"! Between the two vowels in koi a softened consonant has been dropped; let us assume it arose from koui, kobi, which would be a very common process, and we would have the same origin of "2" as would be conceivable in Bakaïrí.

Finally I must also consider "tokále," "1." It is made up of "toka" and the augmentative particle "-le." "tóka" means "bow." Since each man has only one bow, or since many arrows go with one bow, the bow is the simplest example for "1" among all the implements. The derivation is a bit questionable because it is almost too perfect. To be sure, "toka" is so constructed phonetically that, according to the phonetic laws prevailing in the Bakaïrí, it need not change. It seems very striking that there are so few equivalents for "tokále" among the Karaiben of the north; they are fewer in number than those for "ahewão" and far fewer than those for "aháge." It is surely permissible to exclude coincidence here and to see in this circumstance, as regards language as well, evidence that actual, conceptual counting began with the "2."

II. Color Words

000 Available dyestuffs. Corresponding to the number of color words. Strange statements intelligible through etymology. Dyestuffs older than the need for color words. Use in connection with the names of animals and plants. Green never = blue-black.

196 Color words, no less than number words, show how development depends on interest.

171 386 As has already been mentioned, the following dyestuffs are used on the Schingú /Xingu/.

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171 386 [283] White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thr[illegible]. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

[262] [524] [304] The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification.

[824] Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 196 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

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121 the various color impressions with their eyes, that, for example,
196 they choose with normal accuracy like-colored shades out of a pile of many little bunches of wool, so there can be no question of color blindness, but that, as far as language is concerned, blue and green are mixed up with astonishing regularity. The correct solution was given by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne). The human being, by natural inclination always most susceptible to the vivid impression of red, has found mineral and vegetable pigments in greatest abundance for this particular color. The next most frequent naturally formed dyestuff besides black and white is yellow, whereas green and blue dyestuffs are late products of the coloring technique. Color names were developed in accordance with use.

125 On a leaf of my journal Wilhelm entered colored spots of
●171 ultramarine, cobalt blue, emerald green, sap green, carmine,
196 rose madder, vermillion, orange, cadmium yellow, burnt sienna, sepia, and ivory black. The attempt to obtain the names of colors by laying out vividly colored objects was a complete failure. They gave the names of the objects or these confused with the color names, and nothing stood in the way of drawing up an amusing list /420/ of these words, not one of which designated a color. A Waurá almost made me despair, and he in particular seemed to have different words for blue and green. But even if this misconception was eliminated -- and, to be sure, this was done best by the use of the definite color words already obtained from the neighboring tribe -- even if the people were really on the right track, the experiment usually became a veritable trial of patience. They would think it over, vacillate, sometimes disagree with each other; it was obvious that I was demanding something very unusual. Only the Auetö, the enthusiastic painters, proved amenable. But there was one difficulty that I was responsible for, since I not only had to become accustomed to hearing the same word for emerald green and ultramarine, but was also given other baffling information which I understood only after linguistic studies.

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B 171 192 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange, 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetó had the same word, the T 171 192 "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The Trumaí were the only ones who had two words for blue and green; the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue = black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng; it also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumaí and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakaïrí and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

B 171 192 196 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenomena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the original meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsovü, the name of the Conurus species or parakeets. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cúgui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, çivi, çiui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-mae, the origin of çugui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetó word i-kör-etú, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaïrí also goes back to the parakeet zugú-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoetic, hence very similar among Bakaïrí, Tupí, and Bororó.

/420 cont./

171 192 196 the houses by the natives, /421/ one which has a beautiful red spot next to the beak, I assume that one Bakaïrí woman recalled this little animal when, to my astonishment, she designated emerald green, vermillion, and ultramarine, one after the other, as tukuéng! This was all correct, but at that time I myself had no idea of the connection, and, shaking my head, I put the result down on paper with big exclamation marks. Luckily, the people had not derived a color word from the red arara of the lower Schingú; they would have been able to give the baffled European a palette of practically all the clashing colors with one word. Moreover, it is at least possible that the Bakaïrí and North Karaiben word for red means "the color of fruit"; in this case one person who is by no means color-blind for red might, by way of exception, also use the word for green (emerald green and sap-green), whereas the others generally used it for orange, vermillion, and carmine. The derivation of the Tupí word ti, ting, tinga for "white" from ty, urine, sap, juice, can probably be defended; in that case it would surely not be surprising if the Auetö designate white and light yellow with it.

The Bakaïrí word for white is "salt"-colored, the one for black, "soot"-colored. The latter, as has been mentioned, also serves for blue and dark brown, and, whereas green = parakeet-colored could also be "blue," blue = soot-colored could not be "green."

Thus it follows that some of the color words may have more than one meaning. It is obvious that where this is the case usage will gradually be restricted to one quality; the important thing is merely usage which develops the need for distinction. The need to distinguish colors asserts itself first of all for the dyestuff itself. It seems to be by no means usual for the color word to be derived from the dyestuff, since I am able to find this in Bakaïrí only for blue-black = soot-color; among the Tupí, for example, una black = "burned," and the form often applied to animals, pischuna, means "burned skin." This word is also used for "blue"; the brilliant blue arara has gone over into zoology as "Psittacus ararauna" = arara una. Nowhere is the word for urucú contained

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171 192 196 [193] in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors. This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began; within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 192 811 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 192 825 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been collected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

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971 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber
192 aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the
825 number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

191 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is in-
192 duced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in
192 number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given
824 the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just
386 mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

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the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance. There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

He always definitely made one distinction between blue and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark. Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"? The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the ararauna, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

/424/

Chapter XVI.
The Paressí.

On the history of the Paressí and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

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123 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kwiza-itano, let us question the Bacairi concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

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II
The Conception of the World

The Bacairi believe that man consists of two elements: kwãtopĩri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and ktati, "our shirt," or kwutahi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

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10. Matías Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacairi, were also

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Cariban: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is meant nonsense." (Conv. en Paris, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacairis is ama, "you," to which one replies, ua, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, ñe kwaili, "yes I came."

When we sleep, we dream says the pialu;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /231/ spirits (yanilaja)--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk--while our shadow sleeps, we dream--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yanilaja,--we drink manioc /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The opera is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much fanning and fanning with branches leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the pialu and yanilaja, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

It is abnormal and permanent at death.

The Bacairis, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (u-ewanli-ñe kuiyalu tiwaie-pai); illness is always injected by enemies (ime-ede, "arm of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

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(brodypus) is killed, pay for them with mungku--if no payment is made, Yamiko will seize our shadow; Image (Cotton?) //(40)// is the domestic animal that is the creation (of) of Yamiko; if you cut down forest in which Yamiko dwells, pay for us--seek out a place to hold a festival; maisanen is payment for the forest (13)--then, when Yamiko had drunk mungku, he

13. After he had discussed this passage, I. expressed doubt as to whether the dance was the maisanen or some other one.

gave (us) for away (14).

14. Stanley Rus Plaza notes a version of the same idea among the Indians of Perú (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a cununo of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Perú, 66, Madrid reprint.).

Maisanen is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is so essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/SPT3 cont./

of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kiuaino enoiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /SPT1/ Kiiñino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows that, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same type are: K'tarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a tapi'ir as a.s., always animated by the desire to do evil to the Indians, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues and Ehrenreich, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the person who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachama fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Chiefs appear in the middle of the water. No ants, capybara, or quiriquis goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacairis took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, i.e. the Kouriio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar anã, the horse anã, the quiriquis anã, the turtle anã, the crab anã of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kouriio and the Kuruaba shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who are the grandfathers of the animals also die. /SPT2/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of a certain

/37 cont./

285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ technical complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/ and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the technical conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects. The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic
178 Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
531 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans from the Kuliseh Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration of the Bakairí plaiting technique, which in times past was more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The fine fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains, in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former
531 times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909. Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket collected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

4:Schmidt--48 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1967 SPT Bacaeri SPT

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/38 cont./
by me elsewhere. (45) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of

45. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

buriti leaves, whose stalks protrude at one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Hermann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several units which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the rhomboidal ornamentation common among those Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairí, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural goods of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, show on the whole great similarities.

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/39/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí apa (V B. 9906. Diameter 36 cm. Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a faultless product of the ancestral Bakairí art of plaiting. The technique of this basket and its rhomboidal ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective fibers of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Hermann Meyer from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (46) There are only unimportant

46. Ibid., p. 350, Fig. 177.

/39 cont./

The basket from the Sindiko Layer Bakairi shown in Figure 30 (V.B. 1967, Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be looked at as a transitional product of a new age. In its /ai/ central form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairi [illegible] winding /greca in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects, and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost non-existent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairi, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairi, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Sindiko Layer Bakairi as an element alien to typical Bakairi ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Parkatsinga Bakairi, it may be assumed that they introduced the new decoration to the Bakairi. The diagram in Figure 41 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairi. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrast to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairi in former times. The workmanship in the basket conveys the impression that the Bakairi in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

a:Schmidt--11 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931; 1947 SPT Bacairi SPT

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/all comm./

work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the corners of one of the rhomboidal figures.

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The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí tumureha (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt. "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas." loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

/44 cont./

285 which belongs with regard to technique to the third main group of South American basketry, made in such a way that two groups of fibers, of which those in the first group are placed vertically to those in the second group, are interwoven with a third group of fibers oriented in a different direction. Only the walls of the basket are plaited by this technique, while *its bottom consists of* "step plaiting," done in the usual way with /45/ double mesh. Apart from its bottom the basket is [171] similar with respect to form and technique to a specimen of such a Nahukuá basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book. (54)

54. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 370, Fig. 200.

000 /Pages 45-58, containing a vocabulary and texts, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. For hunting, they used a bow (*túku*), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadánwa* and *nokigóra* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yamadílli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawétihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawciséri*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawciséri*) has always been performed.

As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

273 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiuva* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [a]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

[114] [a] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 226, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní felled five piquí trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *ipí* piquí (*irí - ge*, with pique). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy ones were made. In Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Koyaka (*koyá-ka*, with koyá?) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atanumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyaka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atanumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mavo's son.

Bacairi SP7 ●
Yaruma SP25

these cakes are packed in large carrying baskets, carefully covered with leaves and stored away. [Plate XII, 1, 2, 3.]

Some of the grated manioc is made into farina, by sifting it through a basket sieve and baking it in a flat pottery pan. In this form it will keep indefinitely. If biiju is to be made, the grated manioc is sifted, but instead of baking it so as to dry it in small particles, it is spread out in the pan to form a sort of thin cake. This is the form in which most of the manioc is eaten. The biiju cakes keep for several days, and always form part of the traveller's baggage.

A non-intoxicating but nevertheless refreshing drink is made by mixing the unbaked grated and sifted manioc with water. This is the drink offered the visitors, on arrival at the village, by the women. It is served in large half gourds.

Depending almost entirely on fish and manioc for food, great quantities of both are eaten, and eaten continuously. The women begin making biiju before sunrise, so that those setting out to fish will be able to take it along.

In connection with the making of biiju fire, fans made from strips of palm leaves, or sometimes of grass, are used. To smooth out and turn the biiju cakes, wooden spatules are in use, generally made to suggest the representation of a snake or a bird.

In the food quest, besides the cultivation of manioc, fishing occupies the attention of the men. Though the women assist by steering the canoe and paddling, not one of them was ever seen actually fishing, though the Bakairi informed me that the women are capable of it.

Shooting the fish with bow and arrow is the most common method. It is never done from the banks or by wading in, except in the rapids. The man doing the shooting stands up at the bow of the canoe while his companion, who may be his wife, perhaps with a baby at the breast at the same time, gently paddles, keeping the canoe close to the bank. To learn to shoot fish is not easy, since both the force with which the arrow is driven into the water, its deflection upon striking the water, the motion of the canoe, and the movements of the quarry must be gauged. The bow is held upright, the arrow in position but the string relaxed until the game is seen. In case of a miss, the arrow floating on the surface of the water is retrieved with the end of the bow, the arrow being caught between it and the string. No opportunity of getting fish

Y 105 171 252
Y [484]
Y 105 171 272
Y 105 171 262
[372] [412]
Y 105 171 226
[501] [462]
B 105 171 226 ●

[text continues on p. 153]

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

[text continues on p. 155]

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Seats

In front of the men's houses a log is usually kept, on which the men sit, and which guests occupy until bird stools, or in the case of the Naravute, bark stools are brought by the headmen of the village.

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In the houses the hammocks take the place of stools or mats, except when biiju is being prepared by the women. In the men's house there are two parallel logs running almost its entire length, lashed to the main posts.

Y
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[531]

In the villages, sitting on the ground is avoided whenever possible. Mats, made of lengths of taquora, held together by two strings passed through holes in the individual pieces, are used. Such a mat is shown in Plate XXIV, 4. Often the upper surface is decorated with incised rectilinear geometric patterns, as shown in the sketch. These mats are especially used when making farina or biiju.

The bark stools seen among the Naravute which were brought to us, as the guests, in place of the bird stools, consist merely of a piece of bark about thirty centimetres long, bent inward and lengthwise. They bear no decorations of any kind.

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[532]

The bird stools are of the type shown in Plate XXIV, 10, 11. They are carved from one piece of wood, the head of the bird and the tail being easily recognized, although the style is extremely simple. The bird represented is the harpy eagle, and is in some way connected with the keeping of the bird in the cage in the village as described.

Y
[594]
[622]

Of the bark and bird stools there are but a few in the village, owned only by the headmen, and are used on those occasions when visitors arrive at the village.

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In the canoes the occupants sit on sticks placed crosswise on the bottom. The paddlers hold the legs straight before them, or bent, but never under them.

When not sitting on stools, hammocks or mats, the men squat. The women double the legs under them as seen in Plate XII, 3. When standing they frequently lean on each other's shoulders, and also employ the crane's posture [Plate XII, 4].

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Musical Instruments

Pan's pipes are known to all of the peoples on the Kuluseu and Kuluene rivers, including the Bakairi. One type consists of five reeds

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalu. [Plate XIX, 7.]

In the Yawalapiti village, the two clowns used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment.

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the tabu. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited.

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top

[text continues on p. 163]

SP8 Bororo
Waura SP18
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

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there is a small aperture for blowing. This type need not be wet to play. [Plate XIX, 8.]

Y
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The only other object that might be called a musical instrument, that was seen in use, was composed of a number of nut shells joined together by a string and worn by the dance leader on the right ankle. In the dance, the beat is always accentuated by the stamping of the right foot and these rattles help to make it more pronounced.

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Gourd rattles were collected from the Bakairi, and they informed me of the existence among them of the bull roarer, which is tabu to the women, but neither of these were seen among the other peoples of the Kuluseu-Kuluene area.

Y
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The men were never heard to sing. In the ceremonies that are accompanied with singing, the women take that part, generally accompanying it with a dance, consisting of linking arms with the palms of the hands against each other and the fingers interlaced, and taking three steps forward and three backward, leading with the right foot. While traveling, the women were heard to sing softly to themselves, and apparently the repertoire is a large one.

Other Ceremonial Objects

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The use of stools, flutes, and rattles, in connection with ceremonies has been noted. Although no ceremonies other than those described in the narrative were observed, a number of ceremonial objects were collected which show interesting features.

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One of the Naravute masks consists of a piece of knotless netting with two splint rings sewed at the upper portion to represent the eyes, and with a painted geometric design in black and red to suggest the face. When worn, the net falls over the face and breast, and is kept in place by a string that is tied about the waist, and another about the head.

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A Yawalapiti mask consists of a tightly woven piece of cloth, ovoid in shape, bearing a painted design in black and white, suggesting the face. Grass is attached to it on every side, so that when the mask is worn, the grass falls to the knees.

Another Yawalapiti specimen consists of a conical shaped hat with grass attached to the sides, so that it falls over the face and neck to the shoulders.